

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KABUL 06955 231302Z

43

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
----- 101000

R 221053Z OCT 75  
FM AMEMBASSY KABUL  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4765  
INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

CONFIDENTIAL KABUL 6955

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, AF, UR, PK  
SUBJECT: THE DAOUD GOVERNMENT AND RELATIONS WITH THE USSR

REF: A) ISLAMABAD 9690; B) KABUL 6594; C) KABUL 6429

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT DAOUD AND GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN (GOA) SEEM TO BE PUTTING SOME DISTANCE BETWEEN THEM-SELVES AND SOVIET RUSSIAN AND/OR COMMUNIST ADHERENTS IN AFGHANISTAN. IN VIEW OF GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN (GOP) CONCERNS ABOUT THE RUSSIAN THREAT EXPRESSED IN REF A, WE BELIEVE RECENT EVENTS IN AFGHANISTAN REPRESENT A POSSIBLE OPPORTUNITY FOR GOP TO MAKE A GESTURE TOWARD DAOUD AND GOA WHICH MIGHT FURTHER ENCOURAGE GOA INDEPENDENCE FROM RUSSIANS. DAOUD WILL NOT ABANDON PUSHTUNISTAN ISSUE, BUT ANY ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN ISLAMABAD AND KABUL WOULD TEND TO MUTE THIS ISSUE AS A MUTUAL PRESSURE POINT. END SUMMARY

2. CABINET CHANGES AND OTHER EVENTS REPORTED REFTELS LEAD US TO BELIEVE THAT DAOUD HAS PUT DISTANCE BETWEEN HIS REGIME AND SUPPORTERS WITHIN AFGHANISTAN OF CLOSE COOPERATION WITH, EVEN EMULATION OF, SOVIET UNION. WE DO NOT KNOW THE EXTENT TO WHICH THIS CONSIDERATION

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KABUL 06955 231302Z

MOTIVATED DAOUD'S ACCOMMODATION OF HIS "ESTABLISHMSNT"

MOHAMMADZAI FAMILY CONNECTIONS AND MOVED HIM AWAY FROM THOSE "UPSTART" ELEMENTS (OR SO, AT LEAST, THEY ARE CONSIDERED BY THE AFGHAN ESTABLISHMENT) WHOSE LEANINGS ARE TOWARD THE LEFT. BUT THIS WAS THE EFFECT OF HIS ACTIONS, AND IT IS APPARENT THIS WILL HAVE CONSEQUENCES.

3. ALREADY THESE CONSEQUENCES HAVE SHOWN THEMSELVES IN CERTAIN EVENTS, REPORTED IN OTHER CHANNELS, WHICH INDICATE THAT THE AFGHAN LEFT FEELS ITSELF UNDER THE LASH AND "BETRAYED" BY DAOUD. DAOUD'S NETWORK FOR OBTAINING INFORMATION WITHIN AFGHANISTAN IS, WE BELIEVE, WIDESPREAD ENOUGH SO THAT HE IS AWARE OF THIS DISCONTENT. OUR ESTIMATE IS THAT HE CAN CONTAIN IT, BUT THIS MAY REQUIRE HIM TO MAKE MODEST ACCOMMODATIONS TO THE LEFT AS HE ASSESSES THE EXTENT TO WHICH HIS RECENT COURSE HAS ENTAILED RISK. CONTRARIWISE, WE HEAR RUMORS OF FURTHER LEFTIST PURGES IN THE OFFING.

4. IT WILL BE INTERESTING TO OBSERVE WHAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WILL MAKE OF ALL THIS, PRESENTED AS THEY SEEM TO BE IN THIS SITUATION WITH COICE BETWEEN SUPPORT OF INDIGENOUS LEFTISTS AND A REGIME WHICH IS NOT IN FACT HOSTILE TO THE SOVIET UNION AND WHICH UNDERSTANDS GEOPOLITICAL REALITIES. WE DO NOT ATTRIBUTE GREAT SIGNIFICANCE TO AMBASSADOR PUZANOV'S DEPARTURE FOR MOSCOW (KABUL 6824), BUT NEITHER DO WE DOUBT THAT CHANGES IN DAOUD'S REGIME WILL BE DISCUSSED.

5. ALTHOUGH IT IS EARLY TO PREDICT WHAT EFFECT DAOUD'S REORDERING OF HIS GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE ON AFGHAN POSTURE TOWARD THE PUSHTUNISTAN-BALUCHISTAN ISSUE, THERE HAVE BEEN RECENT SIGNS THAT THIS WAS SOFTENING. WE WOULD NOT RULE OUT POSSIBILITY THAT SUBSEQUENT SIGNS OF "PULLING IN HORNS" MAY BE GIVEN, UNLESS OF COURSE NAP RIAL RESULTS ARE JUDGED TO BE A MORAL ISSUE REQUIRING AFGHAN EXPRESSIONS OF OUTRAGE AS WELL AS A TARGET OF OPPORTUNITY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KABUL 06955 231302Z

6. EVEN GRANTING THAT DAOUD HAS SO IDENTIFIED HIMSELF WITH THE PUSHTUN-BALUCH ISSUE THAT HE CAN-NOT BACK DOWN, WE SEE REASON IN DAOUD'S CABINET CHANGES AND OTHER ACTIONS FOR PAKS TO BE ENCOURAGED. DAOUD HAS GIVEN NEW EVIDENCE THAT HE IS NOT RPT NOT A SOVIET CATPAW WILLING TO GEAR HIS POLICIES TO SUIT HIS SOVIET NEIGHBORS. AS ALWAYS HE WILL TAKE SOVIET SUPPORT WHEN IT SERVES HIS PURPOSE, AS IT

APPARENTLY DOES INKEEPING THE BALUCH-PUSHTUN ISSUE SIMMERING. BUT WE SEE NO REASON TO BELIEVE HE WOULD LEND HIMSELF TO A PURELY SOVIET VENTURE, SUCH AS ONE OF HARASSING PAKISTAN TO ACCOMPLISH ITS REMOVAL FROM CENTO OR ITS ADHERENCE TO A SOVIET-INSPIRED REGIONAL SECURITY PACT.

7. WE BELIEVE SOME GESTURE ON THE PART OF PAKS THAT THEY RECOGNIZE AND APPRECIATE SIGNIFICANCE OF DAOUD'S CHANGES WOULD BE BENEFICIAL. WE OF COURSE DEFER TO DEPARTMENT AND AMBASSADOR BYROADE AS TO WHETHER IT IS WISE FOR US TO TRY TO STIMULATE THE PAKS IN THIS DIRECTION.

ELIOT

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z

**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994

**Channel Indicators:** n/a

**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS, FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

**Control Number:** n/a

**Copy:** SINGLE

**Draft Date:** 22 OCT 1975

**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004

**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW

**Disposition Action:** RELEASED

**Disposition Approved on Date:**

**Disposition Authority:** KelleyW0

**Disposition Case Number:** n/a

**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW

**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004

**Disposition Event:**

**Disposition History:** n/a

**Disposition Reason:**

**Disposition Remarks:**

**Document Number:** 1975KABUL06955

**Document Source:** CORE

**Document Unique ID:** 00

**Drafter:** n/a

**Enclosure:** n/a

**Executive Order:** GS

**Errors:** N/A

**Film Number:** D750368-0648

**From:** KABUL

**Handling Restrictions:** n/a

**Image Path:**

**ISecure:** 1

**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19751029/aaaaazys.tel

**Line Count:** 129

**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

**Office:** ACTION SS

**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL

**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS

**Original Previous Classification:** n/a

**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a

**Page Count:** 3

**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a

**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL

**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS

**Reference:** 75 ISLAMABAD 9690, 75 KABUL 6594, 75 KABUL 6429

**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED

**Review Authority:** KelleyW0

**Review Comment:** n/a

**Review Content Flags:**

**Review Date:** 18 JUN 2003

**Review Event:**

**Review Exemptions:** n/a

**Review History:** RELEASED <18 JUN 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <03 NOV 2003 by KelleyW0>

**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld

Declassified/Released

US Department of State

EO Systematic Review

06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**

**Review Referrals:** n/a

**Review Release Date:** n/a

**Review Release Event:** n/a

**Review Transfer Date:**

**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a

**Secure:** OPEN

**Status:** NATIVE

**Subject:** THE DAOUD GOVERNMENT AND RELATIONS WITH THE USSR

**TAGS:** PFOR, AF, UR, PK

**To:** STATE

**Type:** TE

**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006